

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

VOLUME IX, NUMBER 13

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 4, 1939

Shifts Are Made in Federal Government

Reorganization of the Executive Agencies Progresses Under Act of Congress

GREATER EFFICIENCY IS AIM

Further Improvements Are Expected, to Handle New Responsibilities of Government

During the last few years the United States government has taken on many new responsibilities. For example, it has inaugurated a system of social security. It has built up an elaborate organization to help the farmers. It has provided work relief for three or four million families. And it has launched a large-scale housing project. These and similar activities have greatly added to the work of the federal government. They have made the government's task more complicated and more costly than ever before.

It is not surprising, then, that the federal government is America's largest single enterprise. Its annual payroll is over one and a half billion dollars. This does not include WPA employees or other persons receiving emergency assistance. Altogether there are nearly 900,000 civil employees in the service of the government. The organization of these employees represents a tremendous job. It is important that their work be carried on with utmost efficiency so as to save the taxpayers' money. But this has been difficult because of the way governmental activities have grown up.

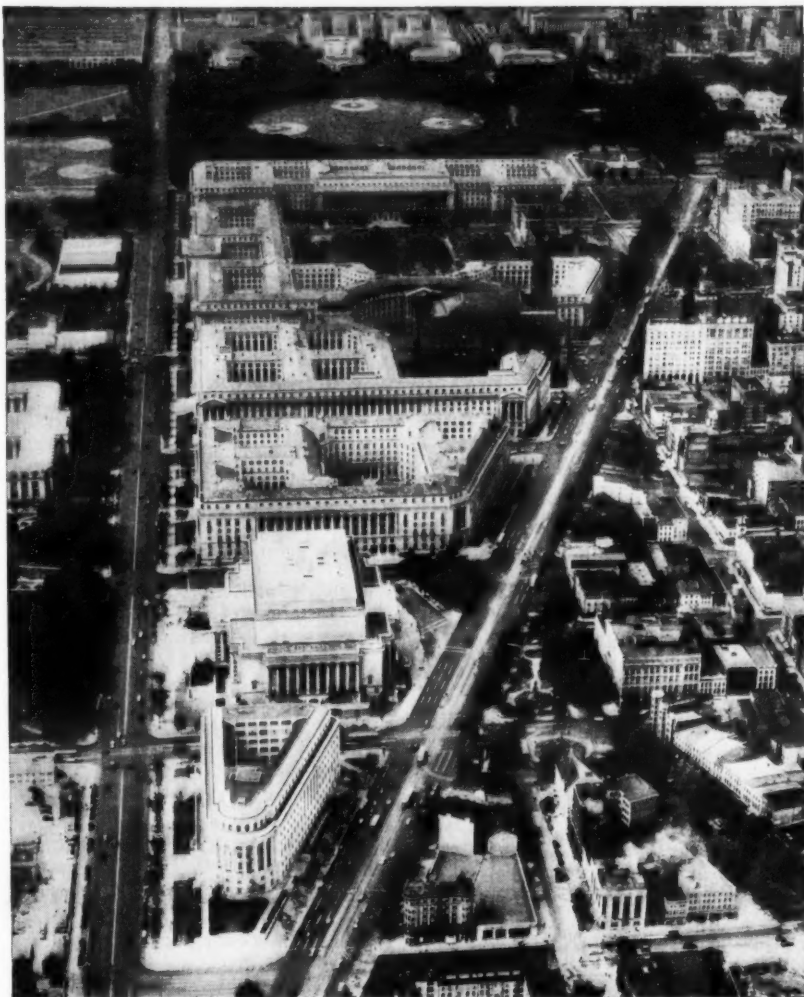
Governmental Reorganization

At the time the Constitution was drawn up, no one dreamed of the many different things which a government carries on today. The original government was relatively simple. But as new activities have been taken on, new departments, new bureaus, divisions, and regulatory boards have been added. The result has been a great deal of overlapping and waste. Within the last year an ambitious program of governmental reorganization has been put through to cut down this overlapping. Although the bill passed by Congress last April was somewhat less far-reaching than that proposed by a committee of experts the previous year, it has made possible very considerable changes. It is interesting to see just how the President has made use of the authority given him to reorganize the government.

The basic structure of the federal government as provided by the Constitution has, of course, not been changed. We still have the same division into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Our legislative and judicial setups have changed but little in recent years. It is in the executive branch—that entrusted with the responsibility for carrying on the activities specified by Congress—that the important shifts have come.

These have not affected the cabinet, or the primary duties of the 10 departments headed by cabinet members. There have, however, been numerous shifts among the minor bureaus attached to the various departments. But first let us look at the new agencies which have been set up under the reorganization plan. Three new independent bodies have been created. They combine the activities of no less than 21 former agencies which were scattered throughout the executive branch of the government. The three new bodies are:

(Concluded on page 8)



THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRIANGLE IN WASHINGTON

Youth and the Future

By WALTER E. MYER

Does opportunity still knock at the doors of young men and women in the United States? Has the competent, well-trained young person assurance that he will have a chance to prove his worth? Are opportunities for youth on the whole as good today as they formerly were? Many young Americans, it appears, are answering these questions in the negative. They are pessimistic about the future. This is indicated by a poll conducted by the Y. M. C. A. in New York City. Thousands of young men and women of all races and classes were interviewed, and four-fifths of them expressed the belief that the chances of well-trained and well-qualified men and women are not so good today as they formerly were. They think that ability no longer leads to success.

It is hard to determine whether this pessimism is fully justified. We know, of course, that jobs are not very plentiful in America. Many individuals are unemployed and boys and girls just out of high school or college are frequently obliged to wait some time before obtaining jobs. It is probable, however, that the opportunities of other days are exaggerated. The road to success was never so well oiled as many people now seem to assume that it was. A generation or more ago, it was hard for a young person to get started on an upward path. Many youths of real ability failed of the opportunity to put their talents to work. In many cases they did not know what their talents were, because they did not then have the educational advantages which youth now has. It may seem tough for a high school or college graduate to be obliged to wait for a job, but if this young person had lived 50 years or more ago he probably would not have gone to high school or to college, and he would perhaps have settled down into a blind-alley job. Thousands upon thousands did that, despite the fact that here and there an exceptional individual rose to the highest of positions. The discouragement and unrest of today is not due wholly to a falling off in opportunity, but to the fact that training and education and a vision of far-flung possibilities have been opened to millions who, if they lacked educational opportunity, would settle into mediocrity without complaint.

America is indeed passing through a period of economic struggle. There is more unemployment than is usually the case. There is need that every intelligent citizen should study the nation's economic difficulties and try to solve them. No individual can be secure so long as the national economy is unbalanced. Despite these national troubles, however, there is a very heavy demand throughout the nation for competent, dependable, and well-trained workers. The young man or woman who is admirably equipped in character, in personality, in competence, and skill is not likely to wait long for his opportunity. His chance to succeed in hard times as well as prosperous times is far greater than is the chance of one who is unreliable or poorly equipped. Everyone should determine to work as a citizen for conditions under which opportunity may be more universal. Meanwhile, stouthearted youths will look to the future with confidence as well as hope.

Land of Contrasts

A possible answer to these puzzling questions might be found in the complicated structure of internal India, which makes that land so difficult to rule or deal with, even in normal times. Although it covers an area equal only to that part of the United States lying east of the Rocky Mountains, India is more like a continent than a single country. Its population, now estimated as being somewhere over 380,000,000, and perhaps even higher than 390,000,000, is already larger than that of Europe, if Russia is excluded, and is expected to pass the 400,000,000 mark within a few years, so rapid is its rate of increase. Within these crowded confines of India one finds all manner of climate, topography, plant and animal life; all stages of culture, all extremes of wealth and poverty; governments ranging from the best to the worst and, above all, the most striking contradictions of all types.

If India is dominated by her 250,000,000 Hindus and their castes, there are also 85,000,000 Moslems, in addition to Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, and Jains. If there are eight or 10 major languages in India, there are over 200 minor ones. If India is the land of violence and perpetual warfare of the type that rages along the northwest frontier, it is also the land of Gandhi's nonviolence campaigns, and of the strangely gentle Jains, who regard it as criminal to step on an ant. While India is a land of jungles, elephants, and rice fields, it also contains bleak desert, dour hills scattered with

(Concluded on page 3)

India Again Asks For Independence

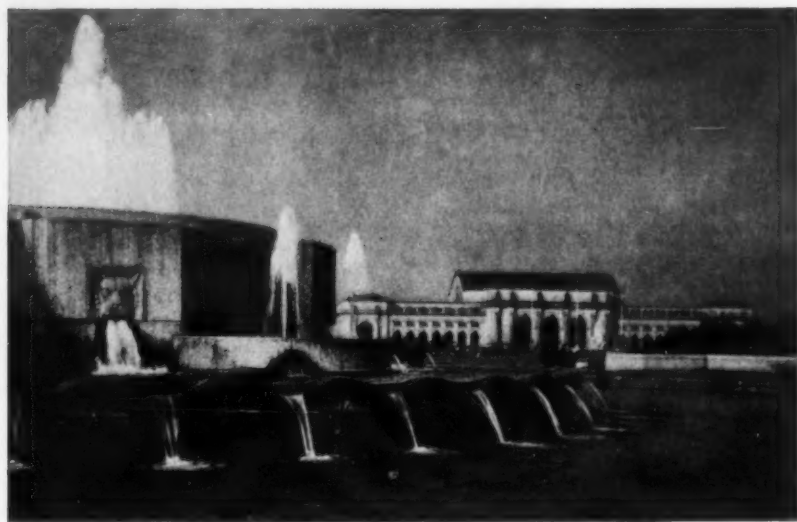
Leaders Refuse War Aid to Great Britain Until Settlement of Problem Is Reached

BRITISH REMAIN ADAMANT

But Unless Some Settlement Can Be Reached, Serious Trouble Is Likely to Result

When India's political leaders recently refused to support England's war against Germany until their demands for self-rule were satisfied, they confronted Great Britain with a problem which is both difficult and dangerous. It is difficult because of its complexity. Through official declarations of the British viceroy, supported by many Indian princes, India is at war. Yet, since the masses of Indian peoples refuse to take any part in the conflict pending settlement of their grievances, India is not at war. The problem is dangerous, from a British point of view, because it arises at a time when Britain is hard beset by war in Europe, and worried by Japanese and Russian activities in the Far East. It is rendered doubly dangerous by the possibility that Indian nationalism, which is being kindled into flame after smoldering for 20 years, may not stop at mere noncooperation. From all present indications, the matter calls for speedy settlement.

On the face of things it seems that the gap between the British and Indian points of view is not wide. Why has no compromise been reached? Faced with loss of support from the largest segment of the British Empire, why has the British government failed to make sufficient concessions to bring India into line? Asserting unqualified opposition to Hitlerism, why have Indian leaders failed to support Britain against it?



UNION STATION PLAZA IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL
(From a photograph in "Our Washington.")

Story of Nation's Capital Told in Word and Picture in New Book

DESPITE the warm affection which America's capital city holds in the hearts of the nation's citizens, most of them know precious little about the history of the city, about its places of interest, or even about the governmental activities centered in it. It is largely to acquaint people all over the country with the capital city of the United States that "Our Washington" (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, \$2) has been published. In the words of the subtitle, this book is a "comprehensive album of the nation's capital in words and pictures." It has been prepared by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration and is one of the publications of the American Guide Series.

Of all the books on the nation's capital with which we are familiar, none more nearly meets the requirements of those who are anxious to obtain a reliable—and at the same time not too detailed—guide to Washington. There are well over a hundred illustrations, many of them full-page, which greatly enhance the value of the text. It is a comprehensive guide of the important government buildings, the embassies, the shrines and monuments, the historic houses, the churches, the museums, libraries, galleries, and learned societies, the organizations, international and national, the historic spots in the environs, and a number of miscellaneous items. An idea of the descriptive material may be obtained from the following quotation, dealing with the historical background of the city itself:

"Our national government has not always resided in Washington. As a matter of fact during its early days it led a rather nomadic existence. During one year, 1777, the Continental Congress shifted from Baltimore to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and from Lancaster to York. By 1783 the delegates settled in Philadelphia, the birthplace of our republic, hoping to remain there permanently. But irate continental soldiers demanding their long overdue pay came upon them suddenly, and Congress fled to Princeton, New Jersey. There the discussion began of the need of a permanent seat for the national government.

"Though all were agreed as to the need of a 'federal town,' few concurred as to its proposed location. The bitter dispute that arose between 'the North and the South' about the site of the federal town lasted for a long time and threatened to disrupt the Union. Finally agreement was reached to authorize the President to choose the site of the federal town. . . .

"Within six months George Washington had methodically investigated the various possibilities, and decided upon a tract of land in Maryland (which is now the District of Columbia), and a small section across the Potomac in Virginia, including the town of Alexandria. In January 1791 he appointed the commissioners of the Federal City, and then employed Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French engineer

who had followed Lafayette to this country during the Revolution, to plan the new city.

"L'Enfant approached his problem with great enthusiasm, motivated by the desire to plan a city whose every aspect would convey to the beholder the strength and dignity of democracy. Taking into consideration the natural topography of the site, L'Enfant formulated his plan so as to give the most prominent sites to the principal buildings of the Federal City. . . .

"On January 11, 1800, the national government left Philadelphia, and the entire government personnel of 126 persons moved to permanent quarters in the new Federal City. At that time Washington had a population of 14,000 and was a desolate and dreary place. But with each emergency in the national life, the Federal City grew and developed. At the time of the Civil War, Washington had grown to a population of 75,000. . . ."

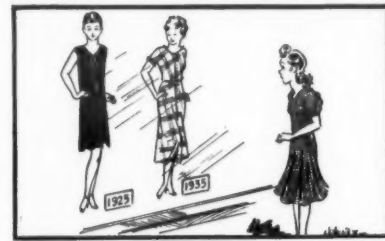
What the Magazines Say

In 1931 Frederick Lewis Allen wrote a remarkable book about the period of the nineteen-twenties in the United States. This book titled, "Only Yesterday," became famous as a unique and informal account of an extraordinary era in the history of this country. This fall Mr. Allen is publishing another book called, "Since Yesterday," in which he describes the period of the nineteen-thirties. Several chapters of this book have already appeared in the November and December issues of *Harpers* magazine. Written in the same narrative, entertaining vein as "Only Yesterday," the new book, as illustrated by these *Harpers* articles, makes no attempt to analyze the political and economic issues of the age it describes. Instead, Mr. Allen is interested in showing the complex process of social changes that go on as the result of larger changes in the economic order. His articles describe the social climate of the nineteen-thirties—what clothes people wore, the state of their morals, their ideas about marriage, their religious beliefs, their sports, and their new interests. He is constantly making comparisons between the twenties and the thirties. In describing the new world of the thirties, Mr. Allen draws attention to the new pattern of relaxation brought about by the depression and the decreasing of working hours, and at the same time he shows how tension increased and the years of financial insecurity brought disquiet. "For between 1920 and 1933," he says, "the depression wrecked so many of the assumptions upon which Americans had previously depended that millions of men and women were inwardly shaken."

Out of these restless years of the depression and afterwards he sees a new occupation with social reform—especially among the younger generation. He says: "One thinks of the remark of a young man during the dark days of 1932: 'If someone came along with a line of stuff in which I could really believe, I'd follow him pretty nearly anywhere.' For such as he the times produced new creeds, new devotions. . . . Their common denominator was social-mindedness; by which I mean that they were movements toward economic or social salvation—whether conceived in terms of prosperity or of justice or of mercy—not so much for individuals as such but for groups of people or for the whole nation. . . ."

To conclude he sums up the reactions of the general American public: "Underneath the tumult and the shouting of argument, under-

neath the ardor for this cause or that, there remained gnawing doubts. The problems which confronted the country were so huge and so perplexing. . . . This plan, this social creed, looked all right today—but would it hold tomorrow? . . . Except during the hopeful interval of the New Deal honeymoon in 1933,



when hope suddenly and briefly rode high, through the shifting moods of the American people ran an undercurrent of fear. They wanted to feel certainty and security firm as a rock under their feet—and they did not, and were afraid."

"The Reform of the Schools" is the title and theme of an article by James L. Mursell in the December issue of *The Atlantic*. Last March this same educator wrote an article for *The Atlantic* called, "The Defeat of the Schools," in which he said that actual standards in American public education were "deplorably and inexcusably low." Since that time, evidently, he has been thinking up ways to reconstruct the schools and what they teach and he presents his plans for reform in this article. His plan consists of a rejection of the "specialist" type of education now prevalent in the educational system and the substitution of a new curriculum with "general" courses. For instance, he would not have such courses as algebra or geometry in the high school course of study. Instead he would have a generalized course of "mathematics" in which broad general principles would be taught. He sums up the nature of his proposed reforms: "The very things most obviously worthy to be learned by everybody are just the things that cannot be put in pigeonholes. But they can be put in large compartments. Very well, let us abandon the pigeonholes. This is sure to bring with it changes in the whole structure of education in America. . . ."

- Straight Thinking -

XIII. Weighting the Scales

IN the November *Reader's Digest*, there is an article by Stuart Chase condensed from the original which appeared in *The New Western Front*. It is called "The Common Sense of American Neutrality." Mr. Chase constructs a balance sheet, showing first what the results will be if we enter a war, and second what will happen if we stay out. This is an excellent thing to do, provided it is done fairly. An excellent method of determining whether or not a certain policy should be adopted is to try to figure out what will be the consequences of its adoption and then what will be the consequences of failing to adopt it. But one who follows such a plan must be very careful to include all the consequences which are really important. He must not load the one side with favorable consequences and the other with unfavorable. If he does that, his readers should take note of it and make allowances for his apparent bias.

Let us see what Mr. Chase does in the article to which reference has been made above. Under the subhead, "If We Go In," he includes these items:

The federal debt may pass the \$100,000,000,000 mark. There will be a huge war boom. Cost of living will go up. Work on public improvements, housing, conservation, and health centers will all but cease. There will be a boom in armament factories, great plains may be plowed and dust storms revived. Deposits of oil, iron, lead, zinc, copper will be depleted. Wages will be fixed. People will be told how much to eat, what to wear, and so on. The government will license business concerns and will take 95 per cent of profits above the average profits for the last three years. Banks will be practically socialized. Farmers will be told what to grow. Strikes will be prohibited. Free speech will be abolished. If we fight Germany we may in the end be fighting also Russia, Japan,

Italy, Turkey, Hungary, and other people with whom we have no quarrel. At the close of the struggle, the treaty of peace will probably be worse than the Treaty of Versailles.

Under the subheading, "If We Stay Out," Mr. Chase foresees these consequences:

We shall have a moderate boom in business, small increase in federal debt, the continuation of public improvements. "Government controls will probably expand, but we shall not be hurled into state socialism. Unemployment will not decline so rapidly as if we went to war. We shall build up no consuming hatreds, no commitments to guarantee the boundaries of Europe. We shall not risk taking on half the world in mortal combat." Political democracy will be maintained. We will not persecute citizens of German birth. "For better or for worse," Mr. Chase argues, "we shall remain America, a strong and rockbound citadel of democracy in a ruined world."

Mr. Chase here makes a clear and invincible case for our staying out of war. Probably his conclusions are right. It is the opinion of the writer of this article that America should stay out of war, but unquestionably Mr. Chase has left many vital considerations out of account. He has merely compared the conditions which prevail in wartime and peacetime. Now, no one in his right mind would prefer war conditions to peace conditions if all else were equal.

Those who think that America should enter the war do not take that position because they prefer wartime conditions, but because they think that if Germany wins the war America may soon be brought into another war which she would have to fight without allies. The only argument in favor of our going into war is the argument that a German victory would endanger America, and Mr. Chase must certainly know that and yet he completely ignores it. One who reads his balance sheet misses the most important argument on one side of the question. He presents us a faulty picture of the controversy.

Now, we hope no one will misunderstand what we are saying. We are not advocating American entrance into the war. We are opposed to our country's getting into it. We are saying merely that one who pretends to make a balance sheet and to compare consequences of our going in or staying out should be fair about it and should take account of the most important possible consequences of both courses of action. This has been fairly done by Sidney Williams in an article, "Make Up Your Mind, American," in the December *Scribner's Commentator*.

Of course, if one is trying to prove a point, he may be justified in marshaling the arguments in favor of his position and leaving arguments on the other side out. Everyone knows then what he is doing. He is simply stating one side of the case as strongly as he can. We must be on guard, however, against those who pretend to consider arguments on both sides of an issue and then weight the scales in favor of the position for which they stand.

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
FELIX MORLEY DAVID S. MURPHY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, ANDRE DE PORRY
CLAY COSS, Associate Editors

Independence of India Is Sought

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

stones and delicate birches reminiscent of Scotland, of snowy mountains and sub-Arctic vegetation. One finds side by side in India some of the world's most profound thinkers and most backward aborigines; the incredible wealth of jeweled maharajahs and the incredible poverty of debt-ridden peasants and laborers. One might fill countless pages with analyses of internal India, of its castes, child marriages, philosophy, and governments, but here we may only touch on them briefly as they affect relations with England. If there is any conclusion to be drawn from these contradictions, it is that India defies generalities. What may be true of one class or province is likely to be entirely false if applied to another.

Importance to England

The Englishman looks upon India partly with pride in the immensity of his Empire, but more with an eye to balance sheets. He sees in Indian railways, shipping, insurance firms, and industries, an accumulation of British investments exceeding \$4,000,000,000. He sees in India the market in which Great Britain disposes of one-third of her exports, including machinery, tools, oils, metals, some ores, automobiles, paper goods, chemicals, drugs, and medicines. In India also he sees an important source of Empire raw materials. In buying from India raw cotton, jute, tea, hides and leather goods, grains, fruits, wools, and manganese ore, Britain absorbs more than a quarter of India's exports.

A hundred years ago, while England was still organizing her Indian empire, Britishers thought of India only as a market. But in modern times they have come to regard it as the keystone of the British Empire structure east of Suez. A glance at the map will show why. Into the Asiatic-African land mass, which curves like a great arch up the east coast of Africa, east across Asia, and then south through Siam into the East Indies, India is driven like a huge wedge, thrusting her blunted peninsula far south into the Indian Ocean, dividing the Arabian Sea from the Bay of Bengal. Located in the center of this large region, India plays the part of a busy anthill in a back yard. The overflow of her expanding dynamic population has spilled over in all directions, from South Africa to the Indies. Indian culture and Indian markets also affect the lesser lands in that half circle. While the British originally annexed lands to the east with the idea of erecting bulwarks to protect India, they understand today that it is the wealth, resources, man power, and bases of India that make it possible for them to hold this eastern structure together. This is particularly true since Japan has emerged as an aggressive world power. Loss of India would mean to Britain the loss of the keystone holding this arch in place, and it would leave East Africa, Burma, Malaya, and Australasia without solid support.

Thus Britishers consider it a serious mat-



FOX PHOTOS LTD.
PLOWING A RICE FIELD IN NORTHERN INDIA

ter when their position in India appears to be in jeopardy. And the principal menace at this time seems to stem from the Indian nationalist movement led by the National Congress party, and expressed largely through its two outstanding leaders, Mohandas Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru (see page 6).

The Nationalist Movement

There have been perhaps five outstanding milestones in the Indian nationalist movement. The first coincided with the outbreak of the World War, when Britain promised to grant self-rule to India in return for support against Germany. In a glow of enthusiasm India contributed \$750,000,000 outright to the British treasury, outfitted and dispatched 1,338,000 soldiers for war service in Europe and the Near East (more than were supplied by all the British dominions combined), and fought the World War with a fierce and determined will.

The second landmark was passed in 1919 when Great Britain, victorious in war, and powerful in the peace, refused to make good the promises she made under stress, and offered India only a few minor concessions. In the wave of resentment which then swept India, British troops fired point-blank into a crowd of men, women, and children at the town of Amritsar, killing scores, and turning the resentment into bitter fury.

A third landmark was passed in the middle 1920's when, under the astute leadership of Mohandas Gandhi, Indian masses developed effective policies of noncooperation, followed by civil disobedience. Based upon the correct assumption that the British could not put everyone in jail, the campaign finally drove Britain to make concessions. Thus, in 1935, a fourth landmark was reached, when the British India Act of 1935 set up a new constitution under which a federal Indian government was to be constituted by 1941. This federation was to coordinate the 11 provinces of British India and the 560 native states ruled by Indian princes. Although this fell short of the hopes of such Indian leaders as Gandhi and Nehru, who wished to achieve the same right of self-rule as that en-

joyed by the dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, the Congress party agreed to cooperate in the belief that their full demands would be met later.

The Present Stage

When the war broke out in Europe a few months ago, the problem entered its fifth and present stage. Assuming that India was entitled to ask for greater concessions than Britain had yielded hitherto, Indian leaders believed the time for independence had come, and called upon the British viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, for a clarification of British policy. They were disappointed by the result, because, far from conceding dominion status, the viceroy declared that the federation plan would have to be postponed, owing to the pressure of war matters. He added that steps leading toward a dominion status for India might be taken, but they could not be considered until the end of the war. It is because of this that the Congress party has withdrawn from the provincial governments under its control in British India, and has announced that it will not support Great Britain in the present war. British officials, somewhat alarmed by the turn of events, have announced that discussions are not closed and that the door for negotiations is still open, but neither side has moved from its position as yet. And thus matters stand today.

When both points of view are examined, it is plain that there is something to be said on both sides. The British claim that India already enjoys self-rule inasmuch as the people of the 11 British Indian states (containing more than three-fifths of India's population) are free to elect what governments they will, and the fact that the Congress party has been able to control eight of these legislatures bears this out. True, the British retain ultimate control over matters of finance, defense, and foreign policy, but this, the British argue, is necessary for several reasons.

India Divided

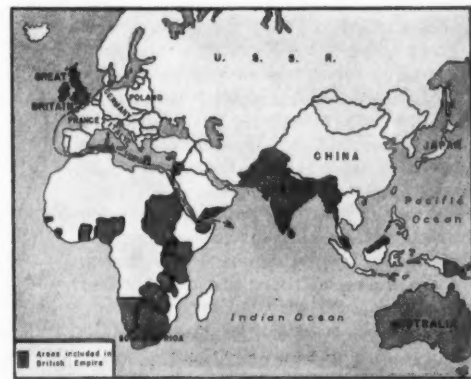
Foremost is the fact that the Indians themselves are sharply divided. Clashes have been frequent between the 250,000,000 Hindus, and 85,000,000 Moslems, for instance. If the Indians were left to themselves, the British say, the Hindus might overwhelm the Moslems. Then, too, the Hindus themselves are divided into castes, of which some 60,000,000 "untouchables," the lowest caste, are forced to live like animals or worse. Then the British point to the Indian princes, who, with a few notable exceptions, are a reactionary and feudal lot, and who fear that Indian self-rule would result in the loss of their personal powers. The British claim that they cannot force self-rule on these 560 princes, and the princes agree.

In opposition to these arguments the Congress party declares that enmity between Moslems and Hindus has long been stirred up by the British who wish to use it as an excuse to delay self-rule. Indian party leaders declare that much of their support comes from Moslem provinces in the north-

west (which is true), and that if left to themselves, the Moslems and Hindus would be well able to settle their differences. The Congress party cites Britain's broken pledges of the World War period as adequate reason for doubting British good faith at this time. And why, Indian leaders ask, should India fight in defense of Czech-Polish-British independence when she is unable to obtain it for herself? If Britain is fighting the war against Hitlerism (which India dislikes) in good faith, why does she not show her good faith by righting matters within the Empire first?

As if internal Indian problems were not complex enough, the British are forced to approach the matter with an eye to outside influences. The pressure upon India from foreign sources, for instance, has caused anxiety in Britain, and probably contributed to British unwillingness to grant India's demands at a time when India's support is needed. Germany, Italy, and Japan have carried on considerable propaganda in India in the past with the object of weakening British prestige and power. They have tried particularly hard to arouse anti-British feeling among the Moslems of India, for if British troops should clash with these, the entire Moslem world would be aroused.

But whatever support Germany, Italy, and Japan may once have had in India, none has much now. Italy's actions in Ethiopia and Spain, Germany's intimidation and terrorism among her smaller neighbors, and Japan's acts in China have



JOHNSON
KEYSTONE OF AN ARCH
Situated between Africa and Australia, India occupies a particularly vital position in the British Empire.

horrified Gandhi, Nehru, and other leaders in India who oppose violence almost above everything else.

There remains the Soviet Union. With its policy as much a mystery as ever, Russia gives the British much cause for anxiety. Although the Russian frontier does not actually touch that of India at any point, it comes very close. And east of Afghanistan, the former Chinese province of Sinkiang, which has now been taken over pretty thoroughly by Soviet troops, borders for several hundred miles on Indian territory. If Russia should decide to strike Britain in India, she would face enormously formidable barriers in the form of the Himalaya Mountains, but she might use Sinkiang as a base, and perhaps even find an ally in the warlike tribes along India's northwest frontier, who have never accepted British rule. All these considerations undoubtedly contribute to Britain's unwillingness to loosen her hold on India at this time.

Questions and References

1. In what two ways is India particularly important to Great Britain?
2. Can you outline the developments in British-Indian relations which have led to the present impasse?
3. Do you think Indian leaders are justified in their stand? Why?
4. Bearing in mind the question of minority rights, how do you think the British should go about settling the Indian question?
5. What is the Congress party? Name two of its outstanding leaders.
6. Who is Lord Linlithgow? What is his relation to India?

REFERENCES: (a) India's War Within a War, by K. Shridharani. *The Nation*, November 25, 1939, pp. 573-575. (b) India in the War, by H. N. Brailsford. *The New Republic*, November 22, 1939, pp. 133-135. (c) Gandhi's India, and Nehru, by A. Singh. *Asia*, October 1939, pp. 555-556. (d) India and the War, by A. Singh. *Asia*, December 1939, pp. 698-700.



DORIAN LEIGH FROM BLACK STAR
CLIVE STREET IN CALCUTTA



FEDERAL HOUSING FOR SAN FRANCISCO'S CHINESE

An architect's drawing of a proposed federal housing project to replace the slum conditions in San Francisco's Chinatown which is being urged by the local junior chamber of commerce and civic clubs. The health of 20,000 Chinese is endangered by present conditions, it is reported.

DOMESTIC

Tax Headache

When the members of Congress pack their bags and return to Washington in January, a number of ticklish financial questions will be put before them. Today the federal debt stands at about \$41,500,000,000. And there is a law which sets a limit of 45 billion dollars on the total debt. That point is not far off.

So Congress will have the knotty problem of deciding what to do. If someone proposes a new set of taxes to keep the national debt below 45 billion, the suggestion is not likely to be popular. 1940 is a presidential election year, and one-third of the senators and all the representatives will be running for reelection. No candidate wants to explain new taxes to the voters.

Another possibility is that Congress may pass a new law, raising the debt limit to a point higher than 45 billion. But this, too, would create a serious controversy in legislative debate, and spotlight the debt for the country at large. The final choice is to reduce expenditures and to count on an increase in revenues from the present taxes. Already the President is studying ways to slash government costs. More tax revenues may come in, because business is better. When the country makes more money, the federal treasury benefits, too. Last January, for example, it was estimated that the government would receive \$5,603,000,000 in taxes between July 1, 1939, and June 30, 1940. Now it looks as though about six billion dollars may come in, simply because business is much better.

It is not certain, of course, that the problem can be solved by cutting expenses and anticipating increased tax revenues. If that hope does not materialize, then Congress and the President must consider the less popular ways of meeting the difficulty. They may also put national defense on a partial pay-as-you-go basis, since such costs are mounting so rapidly.

Handbill Decision

Nineteen men who were picketing a Milwaukee meat market in April 1938 distributed handbills to passers-by, telling why a strike had been called. But Milwaukee had a "street littering" law which forbade putting out such printed material on the streets and sidewalks. The men were arrested. One court after another upheld the law as the case was appealed, until finally the United States Supreme Court heard the details.

By a majority of seven to one, the justices said that such a law took from the pickets their right to tell their story to the public. The decision, written by Justice Roberts, pointed out that "although a municipality may enact regulations in the interest of the public safety, health, welfare, or convenience, these may not abridge the individual liberties secured by the Constitution to those who may wish to speak, write, print, or circulate information or opinion." In effect, the decision

said that it may be important for a city to keep its streets clean, but that it is far more essential for its citizens to have complete freedom of speech.

Apartment City

The world's largest housing development, with apartments for 40,000 persons, is being built in New York City. Known as the Parkchester, it will cover 129 acres of ground. The buildings—51 of them—will occupy only one-fourth of the area; another fourth will be taken up by streets and sidewalks, while the rest will contain parks and playgrounds. Costing \$50,000,000 to construct, the project will have 12,269 apartments, 250 shops and stores, two theatres, several garages, and parking space for about 10,000 cars. The first families will move in about March 1940.

This "city within a city," which will be larger in population than Butte, Montana, or Baton Rouge, Louisiana, is being built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as a business investment. From rents which range between \$32 and \$69 a month for apartments which have from two to five rooms apiece, the company believes that it can make a profitable return on its money.

Coal Chemistry

Coal, water, and fresh air are the main ingredients which have been combined to make a new synthetic yarn or thread. The product, called nylon by its discoverers, is already being sold in the form of stockings in a few stores. The first sales are being made only to give actual users an opportunity to test the hose. If everything goes well, the manufacturers hope to begin making hose for nation-wide consumption in a short time. In preliminary tests, the yarn showed an elasticity which permitted more pulling, twisting, and yanking than rayon, which is made from wood pulp.

The same materials from which nylon is made are furnishing bristles for hairbrushes. Formerly, China and Siberia supplied the best

hog's bristles, with which the finest brushes were made. When war in Asia shut off this source, chemists went to work and produced a substitute. According to the company which made the discoveries, over 46 million tons of coal are used each year for chemical purposes such as these.

Training the Jobless

Six months ago, Connecticut's governor, Raymond E. Baldwin, appointed a commission to study unemployment, and last week he acted on the commission's report. The findings had not been discouraging. Although it was reported that 15 per cent of the state's unemployed would probably not be employed except in a major boom, it was found that a third were "inexperienced youths" between 16 and 25, who had never been employed long enough to learn a trade. It was also found that a large proportion were one-time skilled workers who had reached the age of 45 and because of long unemployment were now "rusty" at their trade.

As a result a state trade school has been set up in Hartford which will give free in-

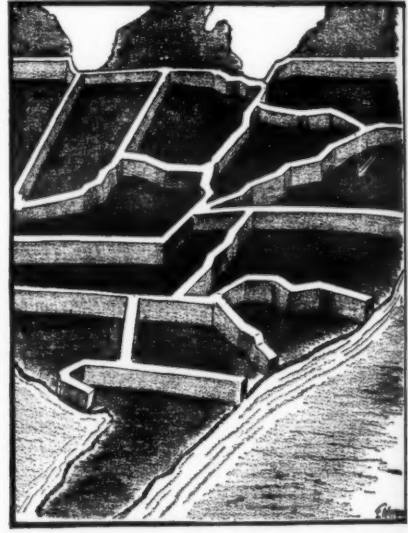
struction to all desiring it. It will not guarantee jobs, but it will teach the trades that men will be expected to work at if they are hired in the Nutmeg state: aircraft, business machine, turbine, and other "precision" manufactures. The curriculum has been checked by industrial engineers, and local industries not only agreed to lend machinery, but are supplying paid instructors. The school's hours will duplicate those of a factory, with an eight-hour day and 30-minute luncheon period.

duties. For many years this provision permitted a free and easy exchange of goods and services among the 48 states, and much of our economic progress has been attributed to it. There came a shift, however, with the depression of 1929. The cry, "Keep Business at Home," was raised, and the various states began successfully to circumvent the constitutional restriction. They did not establish tariffs; instead they erected barriers which were designed to give an advantage to residents of one state at the expense of businessmen in other states. Laws concerning public health, certain taxes, and the regulation of motor trucks were used in some instances to interfere with the shipment of goods across state boundaries. As one state applied such statutes, others followed in retaliation. Interstate trade barriers became higher and stronger.

The trend in this direction has become so marked that Harry Hopkins, secretary of commerce, has declared that the problem of interstate barriers "has grown to be a serious threat to the economic life and business well-being of our country," and has "resulted in



"THE SPHINX SPEAKS, BUT SAYS—"
LEWIS IN MILWAUKEE JOURNAL



STATE TRADE BARRIERS
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

loss of business generally." To cope with the situation, the secretary recommended formation of an interdepartmental committee to study methods of removing the barriers.

Trade Barriers

Under the terms of the Constitution, states are forbidden to pass tariff laws and collect

Labor's Duties

If a labor union is working to get its members more wages, shorter hours, safer working conditions, health protection, collective bargaining rights, or safeguards against the factory speed-up, it has the federal government's backing. These, according to Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, are its legitimate objectives. On the other hand, he said, labor unions sometimes violate the Sherman antitrust law, which prohibits acts that restrain trade and commerce. The same law bans similar illegal activity on the part of corporations (see last week's AMERICAN OBSERVER). Some of the illegal union acts which Mr. Arnold mentioned were:

1. A union is breaking the law when it prevents the use of cheaper material, improved equipment, or more efficient methods, just for the sake of making more jobs or stretching out the work. An example is the effort to prevent the installation of factory-glazed windows or factory-painted kitchen cabinets. In this case, the union wanted to do the work on the job, instead of having the materials come ready-made from the factory.
2. It is illegal to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor. One union compelled a trucking firm to hire a member of their union to ride on every truck. All he did was to accompany the regular driver; there was no work for him.
3. There are labor racketeers who interfere with those who will not pay to leave them alone. A union should help to stamp this practice out.
4. It is unreasonable and illegal for a union to help enforce prices. An example of this activity is found in the Chicago milk case, where a labor union is charged with combining with distributors and producers to prevent milk being brought into Chicago by persons who refuse to maintain illegal and fixed prices.



FIRST PLASTIC PLANE

This military type training ship, the first of the bakelite plastic planes, was developed at the Timm Aircraft Corporation of Van Nuys, California. These planes, if proved practical, can be made as rapidly as they can be stamped out. The molding process calls for impregnation of triple laminated spruce plywood with phenol. The planes can be built at a fraction of the cost of all-metal planes.

Home and Abroad

Doing, Saying, and Thinking



GERMANY STRIVES FOR A NORMAL CHRISTMAS
German leaders are trying to make this Christmas as normal as possible in spite of the war. Although adult gifts are on the restricted list, the department stores are reported doing a rushing business in toy soldiers and other children's gifts. In the picture above, Christmas tree ornaments are being prepared for shipment at one of the German factories noted for these products.

5. If an employer is already dealing with an established union and they have a legal collective bargaining agreement, it is illegal for a rival union to try to destroy this arrangement.

Helping the Farmers

Nearly a thousand government scientists, working in 20 laboratories at Beltsville, Maryland, are carrying on experiments to show the nation's farmers how to make a better living. With painstaking methods, they are developing cows which produce more milk, hens which lay more eggs, trees which are laden with more fruit, sheep which have heavier coats of wool, and plants which bear finer vegetables. "Streamlined" turkeys, weighing from seven to 15 pounds apiece, which have more white meat are one of their accomplishments.

This work is done on a 10,000-acre farm, about an hour's drive from the Department of Agriculture in Washington. It is equipped with 20 greenhouses, 60 barns, an apiary, a granary, and scores of henhouses, sheds, and other small buildings. The cost of \$1,500,000 annually to run this farm is well spent, the government believes, because the experiments point the way to better farming methods.

FOREIGN

Finland Again

When Finnish negotiators returned home from Moscow without having yielded to Soviet demands for a naval base upon Finnish soil, a few weeks ago, many people wondered whether the matter would end there. For a time it seemed that it might, for attacks on Finland by the Soviet press were relaxed, and relations between Finland and Russia showed signs of easing.

A little over a week ago, however, it was apparent that more trouble was brewing. Using a vituperative style of name-calling formerly reserved for Nazi officials, the Soviet press suddenly lashed out against Finland, accusing its government of war-mongering, fascism, and aggression. Within 18 hours of preparation of these attacks, an incident was reported along the Russo-Finnish border. Soviet officials claimed a Finnish battery had opened fire on Russian border troops, killing and wounding several. The Finns heatedly denied that anything of the sort had occurred. Matters began to look more serious as Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov dispatched a note to the government of Finland demanding that Finnish troops be withdrawn to a point 25 miles from the frontier.

As we go to press there is considerable doubt as to where these events may lead. Soviet sources intimate that Finland had been secretly negotiating (although without success) for German support against Russia. Other sources hint that the Soviets are either trying to bring fresh pressure to bear to obtain territorial concessions, or are paving the way for an invasion.

Tatarescu Returns

For the third time in the two months which have passed since pro-Nazi Iron Guard terrorists assassinated Premier Armand Calinescu, Rumania has a new government. The latest change was made by King Carol after a German trade mission had virtually demanded monopoly rights to Rumanian oil, grain, and other raw materials. Refusing to meet this demand, Carol replaced the cabinet which had been carrying on the negotiations with one from which most pro-German influences have been eliminated. To lead the new cabinet Carol appointed a former premier and ambassador to France, George Tatarescu, a sharp-featured lawyer and a liberal, by Rumanian standards, who is well known for his loyalty to the king, and his strong pro-French views.

Although it is maintained in Rumania that Tatarescu will steer a neutral course, his appointment has been hailed by the Allies who are now endeavoring to press their advantage by offering to buy 60 per cent of Rumania's exports. The change has produced uncertainty in eastern Europe. Since it was immediately preceded by German economic demands and by a sudden renewal of Hungarian agitation for the return of Transylvania, some observers are inclined to believe that Rumania is moving into the Allied camp because she feels the need of protection. If that is so, it indicates that efforts to create a Balkan neutrality bloc have run up against a snag, for Rumania was expected to be one of the strongest units of that bloc. Unless the fissure between Hungary and Rumania can be closed again, it is feared that it will zig-zag across the Balkan peninsula and divide it into hostile camps.

Kwangsi Invasion

Obstacles of a most formidable nature confronted the small Japanese force of 10,000 troops which landed in South China at Pakhoi, on November 14. Before it lay the province of Kwangsi, a center of anti-Japanese senti-



GREAT BRITAIN'S WAR CABINET
The first photograph of the men who lead Britain in wartime. Left to right (front row): Viscount Halifax, foreign secretary; Sir John Simon, chancellor of the exchequer; Neville Chamberlain, prime minister; Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Privy Seal; Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield, minister for coordination of defense. (Back row): Sir John Anderson, minister for home security; Lord Hankey, minister without portfolio; Leslie Hore Belisha, minister of war; Winston Churchill, first lord of the admiralty; Sir Kingsley Wood, air minister; Anthony Eden, dominions minister; Sir Edward Bridges, permanent secretary and secretary of the war cabinet.

ment. Between it and its first objective, the city of Nanning, lay 125 miles of mountains cut through with deep gorges and bridgeless rivers, winding roads planted with dynamite, hidden snipers, and some 100,000 Chinese troops led by a member of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's general staff. Defense of Nanning was important to China, for through it ran a railroad and a highway from French Indo-China. It was important also because it could be used as a base for air raids and a land drive west through Kiangsi to Yunnan in a campaign to cut Chiang's two remaining lines of supply from France and England, the



VELOCAR
This little vehicle, operated by foot power, was developed in France. It is coming into use in London where gasoline is being closely rationed. It holds two passengers and has a set of pedals for each.

western division of the Indo-China railway, and the highway from Burma.

Yet, in spite of the obstacles and the importance of Nanning's defense, the Japanese needed only nine days to defeat Chinese troops outnumbering them 10 to one and push through 125 tortuous miles to Nanning. Such a success could not fail to arouse questions. How was a small Japanese force, unsupported from north or south, able to make such progress against such odds? Was it due to Japanese skill and bravery? Was it due to treachery or dissension in the ranks of Chiang's generals? Was it due to lack of arms? Or was it part of a strategic plan to lead the Japanese beyond their depth?

Whatever the answer to these academic questions may be, successful completion of the new South China drive will leave open only the slow caravan routes to Russia for the importation of supplies needed by the

Chinese forces. That Russia could or would supply the Chinese government with all the materials it needs is a matter of some doubt.

Two-Way Blockades

Within the last two weeks both Germany and Great Britain have extended their war of blockades in an attempt to shut off each other's exports as well as imports. The Germans have realized their most spectacular success with the use of mines. Dropping them from planes flying by moonlight over the Thames River estuary, laying them by submarines and mine layers, the Germans seemed to have littered the North Sea with all types of mines, some anchored to the bottom, some floating in clusters, and some of the magnetic type which explode when a ship's hull passes nearby. The toll on North Sea shipping has been fearful. Weekly ship losses of neutrals and belligerents, which declined from 15 in the first week of the war to two in the tenth, soared to 12, and then last week to 28, and now shows signs of going higher. Needing some 900 shiploads daily for her supplies, Great Britain was visibly stirred by the success of the German mine war, and has retaliated by placing a blockade upon all German exports in order to deprive Germany of the means of paying for what little she still gets from beyond the seas by indirect means. Results of the British blockade are visible in Germany in the form of reduced rations, longer working hours, the scarcity of soap, and the absence of coffee.

Cuban Election

Previous to the year 1925 Cuban politics was characterized by many fraudulent elections, a rather large degree of political graft, and by generally easy-going administrations. Since 1925 they have been dominated by dictators, of whom Gerardo Machado (1925-33) was the most famous, and Colonel Fulgencio Batista the most recent. Batista's rise from the position of an obscure army sergeant at the time of Machado's overthrow in 1933, to his present position of army chief of staff and political boss, has been spectacular. But he has found his gains hard to hold, and the opposition considerable.

If Batista entertained ideas of making himself president by constitutional means, as many Cubans have believed, they were jolted by recent elections to the Cuban Constituent Assembly. To the surprise of many political observers, Cuban voters gave control of the Assembly to Batista's political opponents, among them supporters of former presidents Grau San Martin, Menocal, and Miguel Mariano Gomez, who was ousted by Batista forces in 1936. Although Batista's opponents are not united, their majority in the government is important since the Assembly is shortly to set itself to the task of drawing up a new constitution. With so many different groups represented in the Assembly, it is possible that the hitherto dominant influence of the army may be blocked, and a practical, democratic, and enduring constitution produced.



THE BRITISH LION A YEAR AGO—AND TODAY

WALKER IN SOUTH WALES ECHO



WHERE WILL HE LAND?
THE DENVER POST, 1912



THE SPIRIT OF 1940
BERRYMAN IN WASHINGTON STAR, 1939

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Tradition Against the Third Term

THERE is no political question more widely discussed throughout the nation than that of the third term. Will President Roosevelt seek the nomination of his party and run for another term of office? If not, when will he declare his intention not to run again? So all-important is the question of the third term that both parties are deeply affected by it and are at a loss to make plans for their 1940 campaigns. Certainly the Democrats cannot concentrate on a candidate or a program until the President's intentions are made clear. Nor can the Republicans map out a course of action until a decision is made, for if Mr. Roosevelt runs again, their campaign is likely to be based largely upon the single issue of the third term.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

There is a strong tradition throughout the country against a President's serving a third term of office. But it is nothing more than a tradition, since there is nothing in the Constitution, nor in the statute books of the federal government, which prevents a president's serving for 12 years. Every time the issue is raised, impressive arguments are marshaled on both sides; eminent authorities are quoted to bolster the arguments of both camps. The issue of presidential tenure is as old as American history itself, for as the historian, Henry Steele Commager, says in an article appearing some time ago in the *New York Times Magazine*:

A Long Tradition

The argument began in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and has continued almost without interruption ever since. Hundreds of resolutions on the subject have been introduced in Congress; party platforms have pointed with alarm, campaign orators have declaimed, editors have fulminated, but the situation remains just about where the Fathers left it. Some presidents have served four years and some have served eight; one has served six years and one has served seven. But what are the advantages and what the disadvantages of a specific constitutional restriction on tenure is still a matter of conjecture.

Much of the tradition against the third term springs from George Washington's determination to lay down the responsibilities of office after serving two terms. Our first President voiced himself against an extended term, but he is also on record as having said that he could "see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who in some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." It is well known that Washington's decision was based largely upon his desire to retire to private life.

Thomas Jefferson was the most explicit of our early presidents in voicing his opposition to the third term. When he was pressed in 1808 to run for another term,

he refused, and outlined his reasons as follows:

Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods by election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person, who, disregarding sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

Early Presidents

Those who see no objection in a third term point out that—with the exception of Jefferson—all our early presidents who served two terms retired because of personal reasons rather than because of opposition to the principle of the third term. Washington, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson were all relatively old, were in failing health, and were anxious to find the peace and tranquillity of retirement. It was this, rather than opposition to a third term which governed their actions. Moreover, all of them left office with the assurance that their successors would carry out their general social and economic philosophy. Even Jefferson picked his successor. Friends of President Roosevelt argue that, unless he can be assured of a successor who will carry out his program of reform, he should himself seek office for another term.

There is no way of determining the strength of the tradition against the third term. It has never been actually tested as a clear-cut issue. Only Ulysses S. Grant has openly bucked the tradition, and he failed to receive the nomination of his party. It is very likely, however, that Grant's failure to be named was due more to the unsavory record of his two administrations than to opposition to the third term. Technically, Theodore Roosevelt did not seek a third term, although had he been elected in 1912, he would have served 11½ years as president. Even so, he made an unusually good showing in 1912, in the face of great obstacles. The Republican party was split, he had no party organization throughout the country, and yet he carried more states than the regular Republican candidate, William Howard Taft. He polled only 2,000,000 votes less than the successful Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson. And the third-term issue was raised in that campaign.

If President Roosevelt should run for a third term, the American people would undoubtedly experience one of the bitterest political campaigns in their national history. Equally potent arguments will be advanced by both friend and foe of the President and his program. It will be asserted that, unless Mr. Roosevelt can be sure that his general program of reform will be continued by his successor, he himself should be given another term in office. On the other hand, the cry of dictatorship will be raised by all those who feel that a third term would endanger our democratic traditions.

Personalities in the News

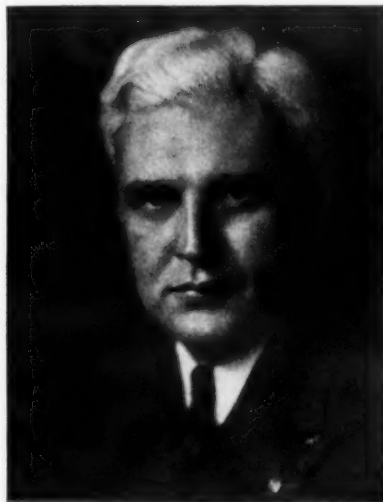
WHENEVER the 1940 prospects of the Democratic party are being discussed, the conversation inevitably comes around to the name of an Indiana lawyer, Paul Vories McNutt. And if few conclusions are drawn, it is because from a political standpoint McNutt is a curious mixture of the good and the bad.

His chief asset is that he has had little chance to make political enemies. When he was elected governor of Indiana in 1932 he was without experience in public office, although he did have the following which he won as commander of the American Legion a few years before. The support of the Masons, Elks, Rotarians, Kiwanians, and his many other "brothers" was, and is today, another asset. Eight years as dean of the University of Indiana Law School was proof of his wide legal knowledge. He began energetically to follow up New Deal measures with laws in the Indiana legislature. He displayed administrative skill by coordinating the state's 169 bureaus into eight departments, and by a program of "painless" taxation he turned a deficit into a surplus.

When he was sent to the Orient in 1937 as United States high commissioner to the Philippines, McNutt's conduct in the midst of intrigue and rivalries was universally praised. He asserted the authority of the United States, rebuked dictatorial elements in the commonwealth government, and tried to prepare the Filipinos for the difficult burden they will assume with their independence in 1946.

Many liberals admire McNutt for his Manila speeches, which argued the cause of democracy clearly and forcefully, but others still oppose him. Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist party, coined the term "Hoosier Hitler" to describe McNutt and his steamroller methods of pushing bills through the Indiana legislature. And organized labor still remembers that he used troops to settle strikes. Another political debit is Jim Farley's dislike of McNutt, for the postmaster general wields a powerful influence in the Democratic party. On the other hand, it is pointed out that McNutt has in Frank McHale a political sponsor equally astute, although McHale's appearance on the national scene might awaken memories of McNutt's Indiana machine and the notorious Two Per Cent Club. This organization was started by McHale and exacted from state employees two per cent of their salaries for the political war chest.

McNutt is now federal security administrator, a strategic berth in view of the role that social security and old-age pensions may play in 1940. Tall, blue-eyed, his silver hair standing out in contrast to his tanned face, he is as handsome as anyone in the political arena today, and years of service in the army reserves have given him a military bearing and a clear, powerful voice. Although he was named as Indiana's "favorite son" while still in "exile," he has said little about his candidacy. He is waiting on Mr. Roosevelt, which is the move of a wise politician.



PAUL V. MCNUTT

MOST people are familiar with the name of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the birdlike little Hindu who is the leader and idol of India's millions. Not so many are familiar with another important Indian leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who may be considered second in command, but not correctly as a disciple of Gandhi. Although each admires the other, and although they work together a good deal, Gandhi and Nehru are quite different personalities. Gandhi, for instance, is the mystic, and the spiritual leader of the Indian nationalist movement. Nehru, who is considerably younger, is the realist, orator, and executive, the practical politician who goes down the line rounding up votes. Gandhi and Nehru, it might be said, are the two poles of the nationalist movement.

Like Gandhi, Nehru comes of the highest of the Hindu castes. Born in 1889, the son of one of India's wealthiest and most influential lawyers, Nehru was trained by an English tutor in his early years, and then sent to England, where he studied with fashionable young Englishmen at Harrow and then Cambridge. When he returned to India, in 1912, the nationalist movement was in its early stages. At his father's house he met Gandhi, and was impressed by him. While Nehru was interested in politics and leaned toward socialism, he took no active part in the



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

nationalist movement until 1919 when chance contacts with the poverty of India's lower classes shocked him deeply.

Discovering that he possessed the power and voice to sway people, Nehru then traveled through northern India talking to crowds and arousing hostility among the British. In 1921 the British put him in jail. After he was released and took up his work once more, they jailed him again. All in all Nehru has been jailed seven times.

Although horrified at first by his son's revolutionary activities, Nehru's wealthy old father finally gave up his practice and his great house, and became so sincere and so valuable an aid to Nehru's cause that when he died, in 1931, all India mourned him.

Nehru is nearly 50 years old today, yet he looks like a young man. He is tall for a Hindu, exceedingly handsome in his serious way, a lover of sports and of the classics of English literature. Although he has a house of his own, he spends most of his time traveling about India in hot third-class railway coaches, now swaying crowds, and now talking low and earnestly to a few party leaders. He believes very strongly in democracy, and opposes all forms of dictatorship. In the last few years his travels, worries, and hard work have given him a perpetually tired look. Possessed of a brilliant mind and an amazing capacity for work and concentration, he could have been one of the richest and most successful men in India today had he so desired. Nehru is one of the few political leaders in the world today of whom no one—not even enemies—has said that he strives for personal profit.



A PRACTICAL PROGRAM TO INSPIRE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN COMMUNITY LIFE

High School Students Formulate Practical Program for Democracy

THE picture from the high school of Cherryvale, Kansas, which is found on this page of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER was sent to us some time ago with the following comment:

"Last February the teachers of the Cherryvale Public Schools were asked to help formulate an annotated word picture of a worthy citizen in a democracy (United States). They turned in 10 points in the order of their importance. The final composite picture is enclosed. This is a teacher point of view. We want other representative viewpoints. What would you add or subtract?"

We pass this question on to our readers. If you were asked to make a list of the qualities which should be possessed by a person in your community—qualities which would entitle him to be called a good and worthy citizen—what qualities would you include? What constitutes goodness in an individual, and is goodness in a democracy different from goodness in a country which has another form of government? Might one be called good and worthy as a citizen of Germany or Japan or Italy, and with the very same qualities might he be called unworthy in America? Are there qualities which are necessary in a democracy and either unnecessary or dangerous in a dictatorship?

It should be an interesting picture to make out a list of the qualities of character one should possess and of the habits one should cultivate. Not only should this be an interesting picture, but it is a highly important one. It will lead the one who makes the list to engage in self-analysis to see whether or not he possesses the qualities which, according to his own judgment, he should possess. It will lead him, in particular, to decide whether he possesses the qualities which a citizen of a democratic community should have.

Then, there is the further question of what one should do about it if he does not possess these qualities. Are you, the readers of this paper, working conscientiously to make yourself the person you think you should be and to make yourself the kind of citizen your community needs? Most of you are students. Is your school-work leading to the results in terms of character and personality and habits which you desire? If not, what should be done?

But the first thing to do is to make out your list. Do you agree upon the 10 points indicated in the picture? Are any of the qualities suggested there unnecessary or undesirable? Can you think of points which are left out? Do you agree upon the order in which these points are listed? You will note that they are arranged "in the order of their importance." Do you agree?

We suggest that a little time be taken for each reader to make out a 10-point list. A little time may then be taken in the classroom. Lists may be compared and the judgment of the class obtained.

After this is done, we suggest that you

send your lists to us. Mail them to THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. After we have examined these replies, we shall publish the results so that you will be able to see how the opinions of others compare with your own.

Poor Speech

Since 1931, the City College, in New York, has been studying habits of speech among freshmen. Recently, the director of the speech clinic at the college, Victor A. Fields, reported that the speech of high school graduates is becoming worse each year. While most of the more than 10,000 young people included in the tests were from New York City, there is little reason to believe that a similar condition does not exist among high school students throughout the nation.

The director attributed much of the trouble to the fact that high school graduates in general have trained themselves to think and speak rapidly. The result has been that they have become careless in their articulation. The clinic has found that the most difficult problem it faces is to train the students to speak more slowly and to take the trouble to pronounce and enunciate their words more carefully.

Pointing out that most high school students do not get so much training in speech as they do in reading and writing, and yet will use it just as much, the director of the clinic recommended that speech education be added to the curriculum of all secondary schools. "Training in speech—just ordinary distinct conversation—should, therefore, be one of the fundamentals of a student's education," he said.

"Good Name"

In Shakespeare's day, as in the present, a good reputation was a valuable asset; in the tragedy, "Othello," Iago speaks the following lines:

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Amritsar (am-rit'-sahr), Fulgencio Batista (fool-hen'-syoeh bah-tees'tah), Calinescu (kah-lee-ness'koo), Mohandas Gandhi (moe-hahn'dahs gahn'dee), Miguel Mariano Gomez (mee-gail' mah-reeah'-noe goe'mez), Grau San Martin (grou' san' mar-teen'-ou as in out), Himalaya (hi-mah'-lah-yah), Kiangsi (jyahng'see'), Kwangsi (gwahng'see'), Gerardo Machado (hay-rah'doe mah-chah'doe), Menocal (meh-noe-kahl'), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (pahn'dit yah-wah'-hahr-lahl nay'roo), Parsi (pah'r'see), Sikh (seek'), Tatarescu (tah-tah-ress'koo).

Vocational Outlook

Mechanics

A CAREER as mechanic offers a boy an earn-while-you-learn education and a comparatively comfortable living. The largest opportunity for employment exists in the nation's 60,000 garages, which in the 1930 census employed 400,000 mechanics, or nearly two-thirds of all those listed in this occupation. It is probable that a large number of these were unqualified for the work, and that the same was true of the 54,000 men who were applying to the United States Employment Service for garage work in 1936. The latter figure was only half as large in 1937, however, and the gradual tightening of garage requirements and union regulations is tending more and more to exclude the untrained.

The requirements for the automobile mechanic are intelligence, industry, a certain amount of manual dexterity, and the willingness to work long hours and to keep constantly posted on new developments. A mechanic is not a "white-collar" worker and he must be prepared to lie on his back under a greasy engine. By way of training he should take such preliminary courses in automobile mechanics as may be offered in his high school, and, if possible, should take a technical course on leaving school. This is not necessary, however, and the boy may become an apprentice immediately after graduation, either in a garage which follows this procedure or in connection with a union. After four years, during which time he will have been self-supporting, he will be a competent mechanic and will receive standard rates of pay. But he should continue to study, for as his knowledge and technical ability increase his job becomes more secure. The best job an automobile mechanic can get is that of the general "trouble shooter," who checks over cars with mysterious ailments, discovers the cause, and very often assigns the repair work to a subordinate.

Such a man may be paid anywhere from \$150 to \$175 a month, whereas the average mechanic receives from \$125 to \$150, and his apprentice somewhere in the neighborhood of \$80. These figures are based on a 53-hour week, but union agreements are cutting down the hours and establishing hourly wage rates.

A more specialized and better-paid field for the mechanic is aviation, but although this field is slowly opening up, it is still difficult to enter. In order to work on a licensed plane, a mechanic must himself have a license from the Bureau of Air Commerce. This can only be obtained after a year or more of training, either in an airport under the direction of a licensed

mechanic or in a school of aviation mechanics. Although the tuition at the latter may run as high as \$200, it is worth the price to any boy who can afford it, for the graduates of reputable schools have little trouble getting jobs.

In 1937, a mechanic's helper made \$120 a month, a mechanic about \$160, and a chief mechanic approximately \$225. Having attained this rank, one may go on to become a shop foreman or field manager, at even higher pay. There are some 10,000 licensed mechanics in the country today, and there appears to be an annual increase in employment of about 15 per cent, in addition to the demand for replacements.

Diesel engines have been hailed as another field open to the mechanic, but it is well to remember that this is not so much a new invention as an improvement over older types of engines and that where Diesels have been installed other engines requiring mechanical care have been removed from service. Old mechanics are being



AUTO MECHANIC
(Courtesy Los Angeles Board of Education.)

transferred to Diesel work, an occupation they can pick up in a few weeks, and there does not seem at present to be any demand for men equipped only to serve Diesels. If a boy is in technical school, however, it does him no harm to take a course in this subject and add another to his list of accomplishments.

Manufacturing houses and other concerns also employ mechanics, and the road to such positions lies through the technical schools, both because this work tends to be more or less skilled, and because the schools serve as placement agencies.

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 8, column 4)

1. Brazil, which was once a Portuguese colony, recently celebrated its (a) 25th, (b) 50th, (c) 75th, (d) 100th anniversary.
2. City ordinances prohibiting or severely regulating the distribution of handbills in the streets of Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Wor-



cester, Massachusetts, were recently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Why?

3. A postage stamp is currently commemorating Crawford W. Long, a pioneer in the field of American

4. The given name of Mussolini's eldest daughter and favorite child is (a) Teresa, (b) Maria, (c) Edda, (d) Benita.

5. The bronzed, white-haired federal security administrator, _____, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president in 1940.

6. Rumania's new government is considered pro-French. True or false?

7. The mines which have sunk many ships in British coastal waters are reported to have been laid by (a) German airplanes, (b) Ger-

- man merchant ships, (c) German "pocket battleships," (d) British mine layers.

8. The President celebrated Thanksgiving, "as usual," in what town?

9. Roald Amundsen, Lincoln Ellsworth, Richard E. Byrd, and Sir Hubert Wilkins are names associated with _____.

10. An earthquake was recently felt in (a) Boston, (b) San Francisco, (c) Miami, (d) St. Louis.

11. In December Joseph P. Kennedy, American ambassador in London, will make a trip to what country?

12. Approximately what fraction of the population celebrated Thanksgiving on November 23?

13. It is estimated that the 1941 budget will be several billion dollars less than the 1940 budget. True or false?

14. A congressional committee recently sent out 70,000 questionnaires in the course of its investigation of (a) the Works Progress Administration, (b) the National Labor Relations Board, (c) the Interstate Commerce Commission, (d) the Tennessee Valley Authority.

15. "P. R." is the designation of a form of election practiced in several cities and urged for others. What do the initials stand for?

16. The Sherman Act, which Thurman Arnold recently said applied to labor as well as big business, is one of the _____ laws.

17. Al Smith's son and namesake recently attracted attention by securing what job?

18. People were talking about labor in Havana not long ago because that town was the meeting place of what organization?

Reorganization of Federal Government

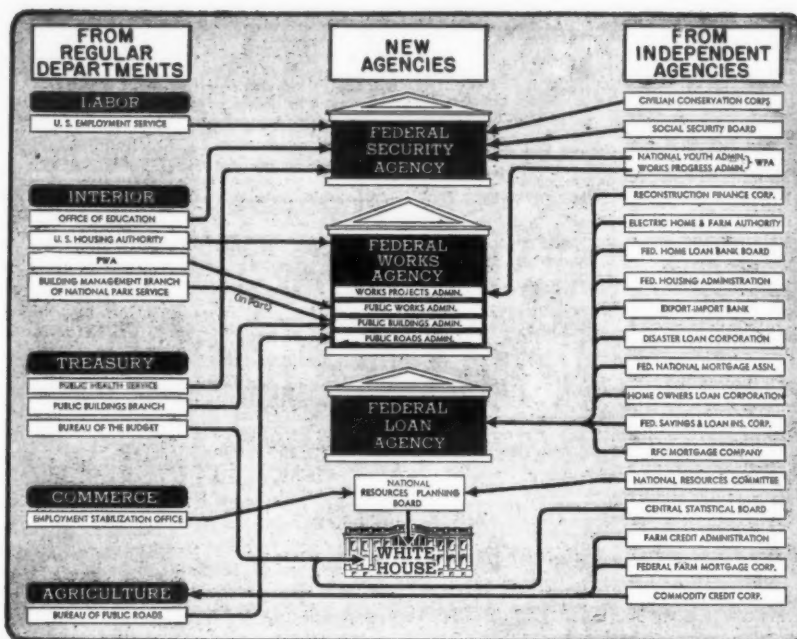
(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

Federal Security Agency. This new body, headed by Paul V. McNutt, former high commissioner of the Philippines, brings together six former agencies. The most important of these is the Social Security Board, which handles our huge, complex system of old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, and supervises the federal contributions to the states for pensions for the blind, dependent children, and the aged. Closely related is the United States Employment Service, which has been taken over from the Department of Labor. The Public Health Service—one of the key agencies of the government—has been moved over from the Treasury, where it never seemed to belong, and the Office of Education has been shifted from the Department of the Interior. Since the new agency deals with the problems of young people, the National Youth Administration, formerly connected with the WPA, and the Civilian Conservation Corps have also been assigned to it.

Federal Works Agency. Parallel with the new security agency is the Federal Works Agency, which brings together nearly all the bodies concerned with public works. The very creation of this agency reflects a changing idea regarding public works. Until recently the works program had always been considered a temporary one, which would be abandoned with recovery. It now has attained a permanent position. In addition to the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration, heretofore separate, independent agencies, the new body incorporates the United States Housing Authority—in charge of all federal housing projects—the Bureau of Public Roads (brought over from the Department of Agriculture) and all the building activities in the national parks.

Loan Agency

Federal Loan Agency. This brings together a number of agencies which have been lending federal funds for reconstruction purposes. Perhaps the best known of these is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which advanced billions of dollars to the banks, railways, and to other government agencies during the depression. Then there is the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which in all granted some three billion dollars in loans to hard-pressed home owners. It has completed its lending job but maintains a large staff to keep accounts during the repayment period. Other agencies are the Federal Home Loan Banks Board, the Federal Housing Administration



THIS CHART SHOWS HOW IMPORTANT NEW AGENCIES ARE ARRANGED UNDER THE PLAN OF REORGANIZATION

—a financial rather than a building agency—the Export-Import Bank, the Disaster Loan Corporation, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, and the R. F. C. Mortgage Company. All were formerly independent agencies.

The reorganization plan has also put several agencies under the direct control of the President. The most important of these is the Budget Bureau, which draws up the annual financial plan for the entire government. Also under White House supervision is the National Resources Planning Board, which replaced the National Resources Committee. This is the chief planning agency of the government and is guardian of both the nation's natural and human resources. Closely related is the Central Statistical Board, which gathers statistics for all government agencies and departments. The activities of the former National Emergency Council and the Employment Stabilization Office have been merged into this new grouping.

Scarcely less important than the new agencies have been the new responsibilities placed on the Department of Agriculture. All the bodies concerned with extending loans to the farmer have been placed within the department. These include the Farm Credit Administration—controlling the 12 land banks, some 4,500 national

farm loan associations and other agencies—the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation. The placing of these groups in the Department of Agriculture instead of the newly formed Federal Loan Agency was doubtless decided on because of the close connection between the crop loans and the general AAA program. Crop loans are granted only to those farmers who comply with the quotas and conservation measures established by the AAA.

Further Changes Contemplated

The Department of the Interior also has taken on new duties. At one time it was concerned primarily with such matters as Indian affairs, education, and pensions. Today it is interested chiefly in the conservation and prudent use of the nation's natural resources. It has expanded its activities tremendously in recent years, taking over responsibility for mines, oil, and the conservation of grazing lands, in addition to Indian affairs and responsibility for the territories and dependencies. The President's reorganization plan puts the work of the former National Bituminous Coal Commission and the Bureau of Fisheries in the Interior Department. The Bureau of Fisheries had previously, for no very clear reason, been in the Department of Commerce.

There has been much talk of moving the United States Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to that of the Interior, which now controls nearly all conservation activities. It is assumed that the President will announce this change among others when Congress reassembles in January. Whether the change will go into effect depends largely on the attitude of Congress. So far it has been more hostile to the idea than any other that has been proposed. The Department of Agriculture has opposed on the ground that reforestation is intimately connected with the measures for soil conservation which are part of its general farm program. No such objection was made to the transfer of the Biological Survey from the Department of Agriculture to the Interior.

The other changes made so far under the reorganization plan have been mostly minor ones. For example, the supervision of the inland waterways, which had always been in the hands of the Department of War, was moved to the Department of Commerce and placed under the supervision of the Coast Guard in the Treasury Department. The foreign services of the State, Agriculture, and Commerce Departments were unified and put under the control of the State Department. Another recent change, not connected with the reorganization plan, has been the creation of a special section in the Department of Justice devoted to safeguarding the civil rights of individual citizens. This is a new activity for a government department.

Most observers agree that the work of reorganizing the federal government so as to adapt it to present-day conditions has just begun. The President is expected to submit further recommendations in January. What these will be is not known, but they will probably not be so far-reaching as those already adopted.

The reorganization which has taken place is the most sweeping that has occurred since the federal government began increasing its activities several decades ago. The reshuffling of agencies and bureaus within the 10 regular departments effects a more logical organization. The creation of the three new agencies to handle many of the newer activities of the federal government may be expected to lead to greater efficiency in administration. Although the heads of these new agencies do not have cabinet rank, they have been sitting with the cabinet during recent weeks, indicating the importance which is attached to their positions.

President Roosevelt has met with bitter opposition in his attempt to reorganize the federal machinery, just as every other President, since Taft, has. It has been charged that too much power has been placed in the hands of the Chief Executive; power which he could use to further the political interests of his party. Much of the early criticism has subsided, however, as the reorganization plans have actually been put into effect. Congress has a veto power over any shift recommended by the President. It can, in fact, abolish any agency or even any of the 10 regular departments of the government.

Students of government reorganization realize that only a beginning has been made, if real efficiency in the federal government is to be brought about. There is a widespread feeling that the whole civil service is in need of overhauling and that it is not touched by the present reorganization measures. The government, as any private business concern, needs a highly trained, efficient personnel if it is to function smoothly. And while progress has been made in building up a career service on the basis of merit, the federal government still stands far short of the ideal objective. The question of the civil service, of the spoils system, and of needed reforms constitutes a problem so large as to require an article of its own. We can do no more than mention it here in the effort to point to one unsolved problem relating to the subject of government reorganization.

Questions and References

1. Name some of the activities of the federal government which have led to an increase in the number of government agencies.
2. What are the three new agencies created by the reorganization act, and what are the principal functions of each?
3. What are some of the agencies under the direct control of the President?
4. Approximately how many persons, not including WPA workers and military employees, are employed by the federal government?
5. How does Congress exert a controlling influence over the President's action with respect to reorganization?

REFERENCES: (a) Federal Reorganization as Provided in the Act of 1939 (with chart), by G. Leet. *Survey*, May 1939, p. 130 and p. 141. (b) Making Democracy Work; Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, by L. Gulick. *Survey Graphic*, March 1937, pp. 126-128. (c) Government; Summary of Activities and Work of the Various Federal Government Departments and Agencies. *Current History*, September 1938, pp. 48-52. (d) Reorganization. *The New Republic*, May 10, 1939, p. 18.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. (b); 2. because they abridged the constitutional right of citizens "to speak, write, print, or circulate information or opinion"; 3. medicine; 4. (c); 5. Paul V. McNutt; 6. true; 7. (a); 8. Warm Springs, Georgia; 9. polar exploration; 10. (d); 11. the United States; 12. two-thirds; 13. false; 14. (b); 15. proportional representation; 16. antitrust; 17. New York City councilman; 18. the International Labor Organization.

Smiles

A policeman was questioning a man pinned under his car in an accident.

"Are you married?"
"No," was the answer, "this is the worst fix I was ever in." —WALL STREET JOURNAL

When Mrs. Crummet discharged the maid, she was surprised to see the girl take a five-dollar bill from her wages and throw it to the dog. Amazed, Mrs. Crummet asked for an explanation.

"I never forget a friend," replied the girl. "That's fer him helpin' me wash the dishes." —CLIPPED

"I don't know whether to be a barber or an author."

"Toss a coin—heads or tails." —SELECTED

Prof: "A fool can ask more questions than a wise man can answer."

Sophomore: "No wonder I flunked." —CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"I won that thousand-dollar prize for the best article against using cruel traps to catch wild animals."

"And what are you going to do with the money?"
"Buy a mink coat." —SELECTED

Movie Star: "I've decided to demand a new trial."

Lawyer: "But why, when we won the case?"

Movie Star: "I know, but the publicity was nowhere near what I expected." —CAPPER'S WEEKLY

Fisherman: "Yes, sir, that trout was at least three feet long. Why, I never saw such a fish!"

Skeptic: "I believe you." —NORTH WIND

If you still believe that Mother Nature is never wasteful in her gifts, stop and consider the hippopotamus, with a hide one and one-half inches thick, and not the slightest interest in politics. —BOSTON HERALD

"Any of you lads know anything about shorthand?" asked the sergeant of the recruits. There was a quick response, and six of them came forward at once.

"Righto, you lads. Well, they're short-handed in the cookhouse, so you men spend the morning there peeling potatoes." —LONDON DAILY HERALD



"YOU CAN LET UP EVERYBODY, ACCORDING TO OUR PHONE SURVEY, NO ONE IS LISTENING!"
ALAIN IN SATURDAY EVENING POST